

THE EFFECT OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT ON BUYING HABITS OF SOME  
PROFESSIONAL NEGROES IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA  
MARCH, 1960 TO AUGUST, 1961

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## PREFACE

On February 1, 1960, Negro students from colleges in North Carolina staged the first sit-in demonstration in the United States as an expression of their feelings toward laws and traditions that here-to-fore required equal but separate facilities (and in many cases not really equal) for Negroes and caucasians in public and private institutions. The demonstrations were exerted mainly against stores and store facilities which included lunch counters, eating facilities, rest rooms and later against segregated practices in bus stations and train depots in the South and Southwest.

The February 1 incident precipitated similar activities in many southern cities and towns where Negro colleges were located and the non-violent technique of protest snowballed into the national and international limelight. Not until April 2nd and 3rd, the Easter weekend, when the National Student Association called a meeting in Washington, D. C., to discuss the protest movement was there any national organization or sponsorship for the activities that individual student-groups were pursuing.

The Atlanta University Center Student Movement was probably spawned over a cup of coffee in the Yates and Milton Drug Store on the corner of Fair and Chestnut Streets on the morning of February 5, when a group of interested students were discussing the role that they and their peers could and should play in Atlanta in supporting the sit-ins in other cities. In the discussion, the segregation practices in Atlanta were discussed and

the six or more participants decided that some overt activity in keeping with the demonstrations in other locations could develop, using the technique of non-violence in the form of sit-ins.

The first sit-in demonstrations in Atlanta came on the morning of February 15 when students sat-in in the Terminal Station, State Capital, County Courthouse, Atlanta Bus Station, the Peachtree-Baker Building, City Hall, and the Union Train Station. On that day, 79 were arrested and later released on bond. On the following morning, the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights was officially organized.

Many types of non-violent protest, overt and otherwise, developed in the next three months--one of these was the use of pickets in front of downtown stores urging patrons not to buy where segregation in any form existed.

By the end of May, the appeal to boycott stores practicing segregation on the basis of color became a city-wide cry from organizations including the Negro churches. The boycott was planned to continue until the complete desegregation of all downtown was effected.

It is not the intent here to determine the validity of the methods adopted by the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights in securing equality for Negroes in the use of public and private facilities and the removal of discrimination in employment as described in the release of March 9th.<sup>1</sup> Rather, this investigation is to determine the extent to which this boycott of downtown stores in Atlanta affected the buying habits of a selected group of professional Atlanta Negro residents.

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix A.

It is hoped that this study will serve to precipitate further investigation in economic as well as other areas from which some conclusions may result regarding the role of Negroes in a democratic society as we have in the United States.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Purpose.--The purpose of this thesis was to determine the extent to which the boycott of downtown stores in Atlanta, sponsored by the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, affected the buying habits of a selected group of professional Atlanta Negro residents.

Scope.--The study is concerned with the changes that developed in the buying habits of the selected group of professional workers as a result of the boycott called in April and May of 1960.

The professional workers involved were teachers in the Atlanta University Center--Atlanta University, Clark College, Interdenominational Theological Center, Morehouse College, Morris Brown College, and Spelman College--dentists listed as members of the North Georgia Dental Society, lawyers of the Gate City Bar Association, and physicians who are active members of the Atlanta Medical Society.

Procedure.--The appended questionnaire (see Appendix B) with a stamped self-addressed envelope was mailed to each individual whose name appeared on the roster of each college in the Atlanta University Center, and to each member of the North Georgia Dental Society, the Gate City Bar Association, and the Atlanta Medical Society. Different types of 4¢ postage stamps were used to identify the self-addressed envelopes, except those that would be mailed in the Atlanta University administration building, so that the returned questionnaires could be classified into two

groups: the first group being teachers in the Center, and the others from dentists, lawyers, and physicians.

Limitations.--A questionnaire does not always elicit truthful responses but it would appear to be more effective than personal interviews in determining the respondent's behavior to the Student Movement. It is believed that a Negro in Atlanta would be reluctant to admit he had not supported the students' fight for human dignity.

All questionnaires were not returned, and failure to respond may have been attributable to the season during which this inquiry was being made. Many professionals are away on vacation during August.

Finally, some Negroes may have come to Atlanta too recently to have been included in the directories consulted and would therefore have been omitted from the survey.

The incorrect spelling of the word "marital" and the double use of the word "status" in the questionnaire were errors detected too late for correction.

## CHAPTER II

Returns of Questionnaires.--Three hundred seventy-five questionnaires were mailed out on August 20, 1961, of which fifteen were returned through the postal service as being unclaimed. Two were mailed in with no questions answered but with comments indicating that the recipients were white and therefore not qualified to complete them. Of the three hundred fifty-eight returned questionnaires, one hundred thirty or 36.31 per cent were completed. Ninety-two or 70.77 per cent of the returned questionnaires came from professional teachers while thirty-eight or 29.23 per cent came from the dentists, lawyers, and physicians included in the sample (see Table 1).

TABLE 1  
RETURNS OF QUESTIONNAIRES MAILED TO TWO GROUPS OF  
PROFESSIONAL ATLANTA NEGROES,  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1961

Group	Mailed	Undelivered	Unanswered	Adjusted Total	Adjusted Sample	% Return
Teachers	301	15	2	284	92	32.39
Dentists, lawyers, physicians	74	-0-	-0-	74	38	51.35
Total	375	15	2	358	130	36.31

Of the three hundred fifty-eight questionnaires considered to be the adjusted total, ninety-two or 32.39 per cent returns came from two hundred eighty-four teachers and thirty-eight or 51.35 per cent from seventy-four dentists, lawyers, and physicians. This gave an average return of 36.31 per cent for the total group.

Sex.--Of the two hundred thirty professionals that responded to the inquiry, forty-four or 33.35 per cent were female and eighty-six or 66.15 per cent male. The dentists, lawyers and physicians had the largest portion of males--thirty-six or 94.74 per cent, and two or 5.26 per cent females. Among the professional teachers, forty-two or 45.65 per cent were female, and fifty or 54.35 per cent male (see Table 2).

Marital Status.--One hundred ten or 84.61 per cent of the adjusted sample were married, sixteen or 12.31 per cent were single. Of the four or 3.08 per cent that were classified as "other", two identified themselves as widows and two questionnaires had no response for this question. Seventy-four or 80.43 per cent of the teachers responding were married, fourteen or 15.22 per cent were single and four or 4.35 per cent neither married nor single. Group 1, the teachers, had the only responses in the "other" category. The responses in Group 2, the dentists, lawyers, and physicians, showed thirty-six or 94.74 per cent married, and two or 5.25 per cent single.

The possibility exists that some of the answers in the "single" category could be divorcees even though the category for "other" was provided for this purpose (see Table 2).

Residency.--In the adjusted sample of one hundred thirty responses, one hundred nineteen or 91.54 per cent lived in Atlanta more than two



years. Nine or 6.92 per cent lived in the city more than one but less than two years, and none of the respondents that answered lived in Atlanta less than one year. Two or 2.42 per cent of the respondents had no answers for this question (see Table 2).

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION BY SEX, MARITAL STATUS, AND RESIDENCY OF  
TWO GROUPS OF PROFESSIONAL ATLANTA NEGROES  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1961

Group <sup>1</sup>	SEX			MARITAL STATUS				RESIDENCY			
	Female	Male	Total	Married	Single	Other	Total	Less 1	1 - 2	More 2	Total
Group 1	42	50	92	74	14	4	92	--	8	82	90
Group 2	2	36	38	36	2	--	38	--	1	37	38
Total	44	86	130	110	16	4	130	--	9	119	128*
Percentages	33.85	66.15	100.00	84.61	12.31	3.08	100.00	--	6.92	91.54	98.46*

\*Two respondents did not answer this question  
accounting for the discrepancy in percentage.

<sup>1</sup>Group 1 includes teachers  
Group 2 includes dentists, lawyers, and physicians.

Payments Before and After the Boycott.--Questions 4 and 5 were set up to show a comparison of average monthly payments at each of the downtown stores listed. Two lines were left after listing two prominent department stores and a general merchandise store so that respondents could add other stores at which they did regular shopping or had charge accounts (see Appendix B).

No Payments.--Comparing the stores listed and those added by the respondents, the most striking figures came from the number of professionals that did no shopping at any of the institutions before the boycott as compared with those that did not shop after. Before the boycott, one hundred sixty-five or 37.41 per cent of the total answers indicated that they did not have average monthly payments at Rich's, Davison's, Woolworth's, or stores listed in the category "other." During the boycott, three hundred fifty-eight or 81.18 per cent indicated they made no payments to these stores. Thirteen respondents wrote sentences stating that they were paying on old accounts (indicating these by checks in the appropriate columns) but that they had made no new purchases when the boycott was called. One questionnaire indicated that the respondent had "... just two more months..." of payments before the account would be closed.

In many instances the word "nothing" was written in large bold letters across the part of the question that asked for the average monthly payments after the start of the boycott. Others used much stronger language indicating resentment (or joy) at the question or at no more monthly payments. Some of the comments that resulted from the inquiry follow.

"More than anything else we Negroes need a Super Market or Co-op Grocery Store. I can't imagine why our leaders have not realized this. We can avoid buying some clothing but eating must go on. Please bring this to the attention of Negro leaders and businessmen in a position to do something about it. I would be glad to have a share in a Co-op store and others would also, I am sure."

"See Tuskegee, Alabama, an example of the successful Negro Co-op store and shopping center. This kind of thing makes for complete and effective boycotting."

(signed)

"As a young teacher, this boycott has been an effective lesson for my economy, and never again will I have as many charge accounts. It is the most nonsensical feature of American economics."

"This boycott, believe me, is a teacher and a God-sent blessing for all of us. Thanks to ...."

(signed)

"The failure and refusal of the merchants downtown to honor the reasonable requests of the students had created in the Negro community a real dissatisfaction for dealing with the merchants."

"The feeling of resentment that has been built up in the Negro and possibly in some of the white persons who are sympathetic toward the Negro due to the failure of the merchants to effect change with the changing times, will, in my opinion, adversely affect business in Atlanta for some time to come."

(signed)

"Because of earlier buying patterns in my family, we found it necessary to shop locally only for a young child. Then, because my in-laws are many and scattered, and because both my husband and I do a bit of travelling, we did some shopping in cities in which there were no boycotts. On the whole, however, we were fortunate in that we just did not find it absolutely necessary to shop. For example, since the day of the very first sit-in, I have not had to buy a major item of clothing or household things and my husband bought his major purchases in a city which had already desegregated its stores."

Payments Under \$25.00.--The column titled "Under \$25.00" could be interpreted in more ways than one. In the first instance, one might construe it to mean some payment, regardless of its size that was made, but not meaning no payment at all. In another instance, Under \$25.00 could also mean no payment at all (for no payment is, in truth, under \$25.00). However, the respondents that submitted questionnaires indicated, mostly, when there was no payment as opposed to a payment of less than \$25.00. The preceding paragraphs of this chapter dealt with the data that was computed and indicated as being no payment.

All respondents that answered the inquiry except two teachers decreased or stopped their monthly payments in the downtown area when the boycott was called. One of the respondents that did not decrease or stop the monthly payments mentioned that

"...we stopped the boycott when the agreement to desegregate was answered."

The other respondent that did not decrease shopping or monthly payments actually increased monthly payments to Rich's and Woolworth's, and maintained the payments to Davison's. The respondent also indicated on the questionnaire that copies of the questionnaire were sent to Rich's and Davison's.

It is difficult to determine the significance of the relationship between the various categories of payments before and after the boycott since the reductions in payments from one category to another could increase as well as decrease. For example, if there were 100 indications in the \$26.00 to \$50.00 category both before and after the boycott, and 100 indications in the \$51.00 to \$75.00 bracket before the boycott and respondents in the last group all reduced their payments to the \$26.00 to \$50.00 category, the decrease in total payments would show up as an increase in the \$26.00 to \$50.00 category. In the adjusted sample used for this thesis, this possibility did not occur, and all categories were reduced except for that which indicated no payments.<sup>1</sup> This column increased almost 80 percent from one hundred sixty-five or 37.41 percent to three hundred fifty-eight or 81.18 percent (see Table 3). The increase, as described, is indicative of a decrease in total monthly payments to the stores mentioned in the table. Nineteen or 14.62 percent of the indications were checked against Rich's, forty-eight or 37.21 percent for Davison's and ninety-eight or 75.97 percent to Woolworth's. There were none for other stores before the boycott. After the boycott, however, the indications were ninety-six or 73.85 percent for Rich's, one hundred two or 79.07 percent for Davison's, one hundred twenty-one or 93.02 percent for Woolworth's, and thirty-nine or 73.58 percent for other stores.

One hundred and thirty-four or 30.39 percent of four hundred forty-one indications fell in the Under \$25.00 category before the boy-

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<sup>1</sup>The number of check marks in each payment category was added to give the total number of indications for the columns used.

cott; only sixty-eight or 15.42 percent fell here after the boycott. These indications were shared before the boycott by Rich's with thirty-three or 25.38 percent, Davison's with thirty-seven or 28.68 percent, Woolworth's with thirty-one or 24.03 percent, and other stores with thirty-three or 62.26 percent. After the boycott, the categories showed Rich's with twenty-six or 20.00 percent, Davison's with twenty-two or 17.05 percent, Woolworth's with seven or 5.43 percent and other stores with thirteen or 24.53 percent.

Payments \$26.00 to \$50.00.--Before the boycott, the adjusted sample indicated ninety-four times or 21.32 percent that they were averaging between \$26.00 and \$50.00 in monthly payments to all stores mentioned; however, after the boycott, only eight of a possible four hundred forty-one or 1.81 percent indicated payments in this category. Before the boycott, there were forty-one indications of shoppers spending in this range at Rich's and thirty-four at Davison's. After the boycott, each of the stores had three indications. There were no indications of purchases in this category for Woolworth's before the boycott, but one after. Respondents indicated nineteen times or 36.85 percent before the boycott for stores they added to the three specified, but this was reduced to one or 1.89 percent after the boycott was called.

Payments \$51.00 to \$75.00.--Of the total possible indications that patrons could have made for this category, thirty or 6.80 percent made payments to Rich's, Davison's and others as compared to four or .91 percent that did so after the boycott. Twenty-one or 16.15 percent of the respondents that shopped at Rich's spent this amount of money monthly before the boycott and two or 1.54 percent did so after. Eight

or 6.15 percent spent this amount at Davison's before the boycott, and only two or 1.54 percent after. No indications appeared for Woolworth's in this or larger categories either before or after the boycott. Only one or 1.89 percent appeared for another store before the boycott, but none after.

Payments \$76.00 to \$100.00.--Although only fourteen or 3.17 percent of the indications fell within this group for respondents before the boycott, this figure was reduced to one or .23 percent when the boycott was called. Rich's had the largest number of indications before the boycott, twelve or 9.23 percent; Davison's had two or .02 percent. After the boycott, Rich's had the single entry for this category, one or .77 percent.

Although the actual indications that respondents used in these higher brackets was numerically small compared to other categories, it must be realized that a patron paying \$100.00 a month to a store pays \$1,200.00 annually as compared with one paying a smaller amount. It would take five shoppers (five times as many people) spending \$20.00 a month to match this outlay. Similarly, a reduction of spenders from 14 to one as is indicated in Table 3 would also have more than passing significance. Of the fourteen indications in this bracket, Rich's patrons fell from twelve or 9.23 percent to one or .77 percent; Davison's who claimed two or 1.55 percent, fell to zero (see Table 3).

Payments Over \$100.00.--In this category, four indications (all limited to Rich's) or .91 percent of three hundred eighty-eight possible indications were reduced to two or .45 percent (see Table 3). Of the



two indications that appeared on the fifth question as amounts spent in the downtown stores after the boycott was called, one of these was an increase from \$76.00 to \$100.00 to Over \$100.00. On the same questionnaire, payments made to Davison's did not change, but estimated expenditures to Woolworth's rose from Under \$25.00 to between \$26.00 and \$50.00 (see Table 3).

It would be difficult to assume that the teacher remitting this questionnaire considered the whole thing a joke, and was answering at random as opposed to submitting as honest answers as possible, nor can it be assumed that the person did not know of the boycott since the respondent indicated that the questionnaire was duplicated and copies mailed to Rich's and Davison's. It is the author's opinion that this respondent may have been one of the many who did not approve of the methods adopted by the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights.

Many adults who worked closely with the Executive Committee of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights had the impression that the students considered themselves the originators of the whole idea of integration, and in many cases failed to realize that the students freely admitted that if it were not for the strides that were made in the past by our forefathers who struggled in their own way for equality and justice, the segregation extremists could have riddled the picket-lines with bullets or dragged the young Negro upstarts who "stepped out of their places" to the nearest Poplar tree.

This non-violent direct action which remains the philosophy of the Student Movement could not be pursued by adults for many reasons,

TABLE 3

AVERAGE MONTHLY PAYMENTS TO DOWNTOWN STORES BEFORE  
AND AFTER THE BOYCOTT BY A SELECTED GROUP  
OF PROFESSIONAL ATLANTA NEGROES  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1960-1961  
(in dollars)

BEFORE

AFTER

Store	None	Under 25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Over 100	None	Under 25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Over 100
Rich's	19	33	41	21	12	4	96	26	3	2	1	2
Davison's	48	37	34	8	2	0	102	22	3	2	0	0
Woolworth's	98	31	0	0	0	0	121	7	1	0	0	0
Others	0	33	19	1	0	0	39	13	1	0	0	0
Totals	165	134	94	30	14	4	358	68	8	4	1	2
Percentages	37.41	30.39	21.32	6.80	3.17	.91	81.18	15.42	1.81	.91	.23	.45

but the request to boycott was made to the adults because they, not the students, held the disposable income that would turn the tide one way or the other for all men of color.

Among the many activities that one could pursue in attempting to void the activity of the Movement would be increased spending in the downtown stores and this seems to be such a case.

## DISTRIBUTION BY STORE

In an attempt to make the information collected in this inquiry more realistic, actual dollar-figures were computed to estimate the total monthly payments made to each of the stores using the following assumptions:

\$12.50	was used for category	Under \$25.00
\$38.00	" " " "	\$26.00 to \$50.00
\$63.00	" " " "	\$51.00 to \$75.00
\$88.00	" " " "	\$76.00 to \$100.00 <sup>1</sup>

The total number of indications in each category was multiplied by the figure indicated resulting in the calculations in Table 4.

Before the boycott, it was estimated that the adjusted sample of one hundred thirty professionals were spending \$4,749.50 monthly at Rich's, \$3,618.50 at Davison's, \$387.50 at Woolworth's and \$1,197.50 at other stores. After the boycott, total monthly payments to Rich's fell to \$912.00, Davison's to \$515.00, Woolworth's to \$125.50, and other stores fell to \$200.50. In terms of totals, the calculations reveal that the stores mentioned would have been receiving \$10,053.00 monthly before the boycott, and \$1,753.00 after, from the teachers, dentists, lawyers and physicians in the study (see Table 4).

If these estimates were reliable and the answers given on the questionnaires exact, then there would have been an 82.56 per cent

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<sup>1</sup>The mid-point of each category was used for the computations.

TABLE 4

ESTIMATED TOTAL MONTHLY PAYMENTS TO DOWNTOWN STORES  
BEFORE AND AFTER THE BOYCOTT BY A SELECTED  
GROUP OF PROFESSIONAL ATLANTA NEGROES  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1960-1961<sup>1</sup>  
(in dollars)

Store	Total Monthly Payments	
	Before Boycott	After Boycott
Rich's	4,749.50	912.00
Davison's	3,618.50	515.00
Woolworth's	387.50	125.50
Others	1,197.50	200.50
Total	10,053.00	1,753.00

Source: Table 3

<sup>1</sup>For computations, the following figures were used for the indicated categories:

\$12.50	for category	Under \$25.00
\$38.00	"	" \$26.00 to \$50.00
\$63.00	"	" \$51.00 to \$75.00
\$88.00	"	" \$76.00 to \$100.00
\$100.00	"	" Over \$100.00

decrease in average monthly payments to the downtown stores mentioned-- 80.80 per cent fall in payments to Rich's, 85.77 per cent fall in payments to Davison's, 67.61 per cent reduction at Woolworth's and 83.26 per cent decrease in expenditures to other stores.<sup>1</sup>

Rich's.--Of the total number of indications made by the adjusted sample for average monthly payments made to Rich's, there were nineteen or 14.62 per cent that did not make any payments before the boycott, but ninety-six or 73.84 per cent after; indications Under \$25.00 showed thirty-three or 25.38 per cent before, and twenty-six or 20.00 per cent after; for \$25.00 to \$50.00 there were forty-one or 31.54 per cent before and only three or 2.31 per cent after. In the category \$51.00 to \$75.00, there were twenty-one or 16.15 per cent and two or 1.54 per cent before and after the boycott respectively; for the \$76.00 to \$100.00 category, twelve or 9.23 per cent and one or .77 per cent. Only four or 3.08 per cent of the indications fell in the Over \$100.00 category, but this dropped to two or 1.54 per cent after the boycott was called (see Table 5).

Davison's.--Indications on the returned questionnaires showed that forty-eight or 37.21 per cent of respondents did not make average monthly payments at Davison's before the boycott as opposed to one hundred two or 79.07 per cent who did not after. Thirty-seven or 28.68 per cent spent under \$25.00 before the boycott and twenty-two or 17.05 per cent after. The thirty-four or 26.36 per cent of indications for

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<sup>1</sup>Percentages were computed as follows:  $\frac{10,053 - 1,753}{10,053} \times 100 = 82.56\%$ ;  
 $\frac{4,749.50 - 912.00}{4,749.50} \times 100 = 80.80\%$

TABLE 5

AVERAGE MONTHLY PAYMENTS TO RICH'S DEPARTMENT STORE  
BEFORE AND AFTER THE BOYCOTT BY TWO GROUPS  
OF PROFESSIONAL ATLANTA NEGROES  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1960-1961  
(in dollars)

BEFORE							AFTER					
Group <sup>1</sup>	None	Under 25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Over 100	None	Under 25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Over 100
1	11	25	32	15	7	2	67	23	1	0	0	1
2	8	8	9	6	5	2	29	3	2	2	1	1
Total	19	33	41	21	12	4	96	26	3	2	1	2
Percentages	14.62	25.38	31.54	16.15	9.23	3.08	73.84	20.00	2.31	1.54	.77	1.54

<sup>1</sup>Group 1 includes teachers

Group 2 includes dentists, lawyers, and physicians

the category \$26.00 to \$50.00 fell to three or 2.33 per cent as did the eight or 6.20 per cent fell to two or 1.55 per cent in the \$51.00 to \$75.00 category. For this store, there were only two or 1.55 per cent indications in any category above those already mentioned, and these both fell in the \$76.00 to \$100.00 category. There were no indications in this category after the boycott (see Table 6).

Woolworth's.--Of the professionals that responded to the inquiry, none indicated that they spent or made payments of more than \$25.00 to this store before the boycott. Before the boycott, ninety-eight or 75.97 per cent indicated they did not shop at Woolworth's, but this figure rose to one hundred twenty-one or 93.80 per cent after the Movement called for the boycott. Thirty-one indications or 24.03 per cent of the total possible made payments of less than \$25.00 monthly, and after the boycott, this figure fell to seven or 5.43 per cent.

One teacher indicated that he increased his shopping at two downtown stores after the boycott was called, and this accounts for the single entry in the \$26.00 to \$50.00 range after the boycott when there were none in this category for the period prior (see Table 7).

Others.--In the questionnaire, there were spaces provided for respondents to add the names of other stores besides the three listed at which they shopped and made payments before and after the boycott. Fifty-three indications mentioned the names of fourteen stores (see Appendix C). Of these, there were no indications before the boycott of any average monthly payments, but thirty-nine or 73.58 per cent after the boycott was effected. The thirty-three or 62.26 per cent



TABLE 6

AVERAGE MONTHLY PAYMENTS TO DAVISON'S DEPARTMENT STORE  
BEFORE AND AFTER THE BOYCOTT BY TWO GROUPS  
OF PROFESSIONAL ATLANTA NEGROES  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 1960-1961  
(in dollars)

BEFORE							AFTER					
Group <sup>1</sup>	None	Under 25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Over 100	None	Under 25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Over 100
1	33	26	27	5	0	0	73	14	3	1	0	0
2	15	11	7	3	2	0	29	8	0	1	0	0
Total	48	37	34	8	2	0	102	22	3	2	0	0
Percentages	37.21	28.68	26.36	6.20	1.55	0	79.07	17.05	2.33	1.55	0	0

<sup>1</sup>Group 1 includes teachers  
Group 2 includes dentists, lawyers, and physicians

TABLE 7

AVERAGE MONTHLY PAYMENTS TO WOOLWORTH'S BEFORE AND AFTER THE  
BOYCOTT BY TWO GROUPS OF PROFESSIONAL ATLANTA NEGROES  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1960-1961  
(in dollars)

Group <sup>1</sup>	BEFORE						AFTER					
	None	Under 25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Over 100	None	Under 25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Over 100
1	70	21	0	0	0	0	86	4	1	0	0	0
2	28	10	0	0	0	0	35	3	0	0	0	0
Total	98	31	0	0	0	0	121	7	1	0	0	0
Percentage	75.97	24.03					93.80	5.43	.77			

<sup>1</sup>Group 1 includes teachers

Group 2 includes dentists, lawyers, and physicians

indications that were in the Under \$25.00 category before the boycott fell to thirteen or 24.53 per cent, and the nineteen or 35.85 per cent in the \$51.00 to \$75.00 category fell to one or 1.89 per cent. There were no indications of average monthly payments made to these stores in either the \$76.00 to \$100.00 or Over \$100.00 categories (see Table 8).

TABLE 8

AVERAGE MONTHLY PAYMENTS TO FOURTEEN DOWNTOWN STORES  
BEFORE AND AFTER THE BOYCOTT BY TWO GROUPS  
OF PROFESSIONAL ATLANTA NEGROES  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1960-1961<sup>1</sup>  
(in dollars)

BEFORE							AFTER					
Group*	None	Under 25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Over 100	None	Under 25	26-50	51-75	76-100	Over 100
1	0	29	12	0	0	0	30	11	0	0	0	0
2	0	4	7	1	0	0	9	2	1	0	0	0
Total	0	33	19	1	0	0	39	13	1	0	0	0
Percentage	0	62.26	35.85	1.89	0	0	73.58	24.53	1.89	0	0	0

\*Group 1 includes teachers

<sup>1</sup>Group 2 includes dentists, lawyers, and physicians

Rich's, Davison's, and Woolworth's not included

### CHAPTER III

#### ALTERNATE PLACES AND METHODS FOR SHOPPING

Change of Shopping Locations.--One hundred fourteen or 87.70 per cent of the respondents changed shopping locations because of the boycott. Eighty or 86.96 per cent of the teachers and thirty-four or 89.48 per cent of the dentists, lawyers, and physicians changed their shopping locations compared to six or 6.52 per cent of the teachers and two or 5.26 per cent of the dentists, lawyers, and physicians did not. A similar number did not answer this question as answered in the negative for both teachers and dentists, lawyers and physicians (see Table 9).

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO CHANGED SHOPPING  
LOCATIONS BECAUSE OF THE BOYCOTT  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1960-1961

Group*	Changed	No Change	Unanswered	Total
Group 1	80	6	6	92
Group 2	34	2	2	38
Total	114	8	8	130
Percentage	87.70	6.15	6.15	100.00

\*Group 1 includes teachers

Group 2 includes dentists, lawyers, and physicians

Shopping Centers.--The last question asked that respondents indicate the shopping centers that they used frequently, occasionally, or never if they changed shopping habits because of the boycott. Space was left so that they could indicate other Centers or methods for acquiring goods if they so desired. The Belvedere Plaza, Lenox Square, Stewart-Lakewood Shopping Center and West End were listed alphabetically as the more likely alternatives to shopping downtown.

Sixty indications appeared for the Belvedere Plaza of which fifty-four or 90.00 per cent never shopped here. Six, or 10.00 per cent shopped here occasionally, and none indicated they used this Center frequently.

Playing a more prominent role in the possible frequency with which professional Atlanta Negroes would shop in any location would be its easy access, the prices and quality of goods, and the advertising given the particular Shopping Center. Belvedere Plaza is not located within the city limits of Atlanta. It lies within the four blocks whose common center is the intersection of Memorial and Columbia Drives in Decatur, making it farthest of the shopping centers listed from the predominantly Negro neighborhoods.

Lenox Square had forty-four or 70.97 per cent of sixty-two respondents indicating no shopping here, eighteen or 29.03 per cent as occasionally, and none for frequent visitations by shoppers. The increased numerical and percentage figures for Lenox Square as compared with Belvedere Plaza could be accounted for by its location and adver-

tising. This shopping center falls within the city limits, in Postal Zone 5, and can be identified within the coordinates K3 (see Appendix D).

The Stewart-Lakewood Shopping Center had a total of sixty-six indications topped only by West End with one hundred eighteen. Of the sixty-six, thirty-eight or 57.58 per cent were in the "Never" category, twenty-two or 33.33 per cent fell in the "Occasionally", and six or 9.09 per cent fell in the category that indicated shoppers used this center frequently. This Center is within the city limits, in Postal Zone 10, and can be identified in coordinates G 14 (see Appendix D).

West End is not identified as a shopping center as such, but rather covers a large area of stores and buildings within several blocks of the corner of Ashby Street and Gordon Road. It is in the northwest corner of Postal Zone 10 and can be identified within the coordinates F 10 and G 10 (see Appendix D). West End is nearest the predominantly Negro sections of the east side of Atlanta and is easily accessible by road and public transportation.

Of the one hundred eighteen indications placed by West End, sixty-seven or 56.76 per cent were frequent shoppers at West End, fifty or 42.37 per cent occasionally shopped, and only one or .85 per cent indicated no shopping here.

Three or 13.63 per cent of the shoppers indicated that they did not shop in any other location besides those listed and checked. These respondents apparently felt no need or had no reason for shopping out of the city or in the Belvedere Plaza, Lenox Square, or the Stewart-Lakewood Shopping Center because they indicated only West End (see Table 10).

Twenty-two respondents indicated that they shopped in other places besides those shopping centers listed, and of those, fourteen or 63.63 per cent shopped occasionally, and five or 22.74 per cent frequently. Broadview Plaza, Buckhead, Campbellton Plaza, Decatur, GEX<sup>1</sup>, Hunter Street, Leeds, Tenth Street, and Zayre were the streets, stores, locations and shopping centers under the category titled "Other" (see Table 10).

Other Methods for Shopping.--Thirty-six respondents indicated that they shopped out of town, this category including other cities, mail order and catalog shopping, and shopping done by relatives and friends in cities that had been desegregated or had no segregation problem as defined in this paper (see Table 10).

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<sup>1</sup>Government Employee Exchange, Inc.



TABLE 10

ALTERNATE PLACES AND METHODS FOR SHOPPING BY A SELECTED  
GROUP OF PROFESSIONAL ATLANTA NEGROES  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1960-1961

Shopping Location or Method	Frequently	Percentage	Occasionally	Percentage	Never	Percentage	Totals
Belvedere Plaza	0	0	6	10.00	54	90.00	60
Lenox Square	0	0	18	29.03	44	70.97	62
Stewart-Lakewood Shopping Center	6	9.09	22	33.33	38	57.58	66
West End	67	56.78	50	42.37	1	.85	118
Others <sup>1</sup>	5	22.74	14	63.63	3	13.63	22
Out-of-Town <sup>2</sup>	5	13.89	16	44.44	15	41.67	36
Totals	83		126		155		364

<sup>1</sup>Others includes: Broadview Plaza, Buckhead Plaza, Campbellton Plaza, Decatur, GEX, Hunter Street, Leeds, Tenth Street, Zayre

<sup>2</sup>Out-of-Town includes trips made by shoppers to other cities as well as catalog and mail order shopping and purchases made by relatives and friends

## CHAPTER IV

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The findings of this study were based on the responses of one hundred thirty professional Atlanta Negroes of which 70.77 per cent were teachers and 29.23 per cent dentists, lawyers and physicians. Thirty-three and eight hundredths per cent of the returns were from females and 66.92 per cent from males. The group included one hundred ten who were married, sixteen who were single and four who fell in neither category. Ninety-one and sixty-six hundredths per cent of the respondents lived in Atlanta more than two years; 6.92 per cent lived in the city more than one year but less than two years, and the two respondents who failed to answer this question may or may not have lived in Atlanta less than one year.

In response to the inquiry regarding the category of payments to the downtown stores before and after the boycott, most respondents accompanied their indications with explanatory statements including giving actual amounts of payments, opinions of the effect of the boycott and suggestions for coping with discrimination problems in Atlanta.

Five categories were given in which respondents could indicate average monthly payments to Rich's, Davison's, and Woolworth's. Additional space was provided for naming other stores to which members of the group made average monthly payments both before and after the boycott.

The total number of indications in the various categories before the boycott were as follows: None, one hundred sixty-five; Under \$25.00, one hundred thirty-four; \$26.00 to \$50.00, ninety-four; \$51.00 to \$75.00, thirty; \$76.00 to \$100.00, fourteen; and Over \$100.00, four. After the boycott, these indications were distributed thusly; None, three hundred fifty-eight; Under \$25.00, sixty-eight; \$26.00 to \$50.00, eight; \$51.00 to \$75.00, four; \$76.00 to \$100.00, one, and Over \$100.00, two.

Before the boycott, the largest number of patrons, forty-one, made average monthly payments to Rich's between \$25.00 and \$50.00; the second largest, thirty-seven, were in the Under \$25.00 category to Davison's. Thirty-one patrons indicated payments of Under \$25.00 to Woolworth's and thirty-three to Other stores. Seventy-eight members of the group made payments in excess of \$25.00 to Rich's, forty-four in excess of this amount to Davison's, none to Woolworth's, and twenty to other stores.

After the boycott, the largest number of payments to a particular store was twenty-six to Rich's in the Under \$25.00 category; there were twenty-two to Davison's; seven to Woolworth's and thirteen to other stores. Only eight professionals reported payments in excess of \$25.00 to Rich's, five to Davison's, one to Woolworth's and one to another store.

Using the midpoint of designated categories, the group spent \$10,053.00 monthly before and \$1,753.00 after the boycott at the downtown stores.

Most respondents, 87.70 per cent, indicated that they shopped in places and used methods other than downtown. The most frequent mentioned were West End, Belvedere Plaza, Lenox Square and the Stewart-Lakewood Shopping Center. Approximately one quarter shopped out of town through relatives, friends, visitations or mail and catalog orders.

Those responding to the questionnaire revealed support of the boycott by a change in their shopping habits and by comments, suggestions, and statements. Of those questionnaires returned only one, a teacher, contained a negative reaction.

There was an increase of one hundred ninety-two indications of no average monthly payments to the downtown stores, and a decrease of sixty-six of monthly expenditures in the Under \$25.00 category. Eighty-six fewer people spent between \$26.00 and \$50.00 monthly; twenty-six fewer in the \$51.00 to \$75.00 category; thirteen in the \$76.00 to \$100.00 bracket and two in the Over \$100.00 bracket. The majority of the sixty-eight making some payments in the Under \$25.00 category specified payments of old accounts and stated that no additional purchases were being made.

One hundred eleven respondents were making payments to Rich's before the boycott, only thirty-four after, a decrease of 60.36 per cent. The decline in patronage at Davison's fell from eighty-one to twenty-seven or 66.66 per cent of the adjusted sample. Woolworth's patronage fell from thirty-one to eight or 74.17 per cent and at other stores, the shoppers fell off from fifty-three to fourteen or 75.54 per cent.

Respondents, with the possible exception of two who did not answer the question, had lived in Atlanta more than one year and should have therefore been familiar with the activities of the students which were described in detail in newspapers, radio, and television.

The decrease in the expenditures of the professional Atlanta Negroes was significant and had some effect on the total volume of sales for the downtown stores.

There was an increase in the expenditures to shopping centers and an inestimable amount went to other stores.

It is possible that respondents not returning the inquiry reacted negatively to the boycott; it would also be impossible to determine the amount withheld by non-professional Negroes.

Further investigation of the same or similar group when the boycott is no longer in effect would determine whether professional Atlanta Negroes resumed their buying habits pursued prior to the boycott.

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## **APPENDIXES**

- A. AN APPEAL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**
- B. QUESTIONNAIRE**
- C. FOURTEEN DOWNTOWN STORES PATRONIZED BY A SELECTED  
GROUP OF PROFESSIONAL ATLANTA NEGROES, ATLANTA,  
GEORGIA, 1960-1961**
- D. MAP OF GREATER ATLANTA, GEORGIA**

# AN APPEAL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

We, the students of the six affiliated institutions forming the Atlanta University Center — Clark, Morehouse, Morris Brown, and Spelman Colleges, Atlanta University, and the Interdenominational Theological Center—have joined our hearts, minds, and bodies in the cause of gaining those rights which are inherently ours as members of the human race and as citizens of these United States.

We pledge our unqualified support to those students in this nation who have recently been engaged in the significant movement to secure certain long-awaited rights and privileges. This protest, like the bus boycott in Montgomery, has shocked many people throughout the world. Why? Because they had not quite realized the unanimity of spirit and purpose which motivates the thinking and action of the great majority of the Negro people. The students who instigate and participate in these sit-down protests are dissatisfied, not only with the existing conditions, but with the snail-like speed at which they are being ameliorated. Every normal human being wants to walk the earth with dignity and abhors any and all proscriptions placed upon him because of race or color. In essence, this is the meaning of the sit-down protests that are sweeping this nation today.

We do not intend to wait placidly for those rights which are already legally and morally ours to be meted out to us one at a time. Today's youth will not sit by submissively, while being denied all of the rights, privileges, and joys of life. We want to state clearly and unequivocally that we cannot tolerate, in a nation professing democracy and among people professing Christianity, the discriminatory conditions under which the Negro is living today in Atlanta, Georgia—supposedly one of the most progressive cities in the South.

Among the inequalities and injustices in Atlanta and in Georgia against which we protest, the following are outstanding examples:

## (1) Education:

In the Public School System, facilities for Negroes and whites are separate and unequal. Double sessions continue in about half of the Negro Public Schools, and many Negro children travel ten miles a day in order to reach a school that will admit them. On the university level, the state will pay a Negro to attend a school out of state rather than admit him to the University of Georgia, Georgia Tech, the Georgia Medical School, and other tax-supported public institutions.

According to a recent publication, in the fiscal year 1958 a total of \$31,632,057.18 was spent in the State institutions of higher education for white only. In the Negro State Colleges only \$2,001,177.06 was spent. The publicly supported institutions of higher education are inter-racial now, except that they deny admission to Negro Americans.

## (2) Jobs:

Negroes are denied employment in the majority of city, state, and federal governmental jobs, except in the most menial capacities.

## (3) Housing:

While Negroes constitute 32% of the population of Atlanta, they are forced to live within 16% of the area of the city.

Statistics also show that the bulk of the Negro population is still:

- locked into the more undesirable and overcrowded areas of the city;
- paying a proportionally higher percentage of income for rental and purchase of generally lower quality property;
- blocked by political and direct or indirect racial restrictions in its efforts to secure better housing.

## (4) Voting:

Contrary to statements made in Congress recently by several Southern Senators, we know that in many counties in Georgia and other southern states, Negro college graduates are declared unqualified to vote and are not permitted to register.

## (5) Hospitals:

Compared with facilities for other people in Atlanta and Georgia, those for Negroes are unequal and totally inadequate.

Reports show that Atlanta's 14 general hospitals and 9 related institutions provide some 4,000 beds. Except for some 430 beds at Grady Hospital, Negroes are limited to the 250 beds in three private Negro hospitals. Some of the hospitals barring Negroes were built with federal funds.

## (6) Movies, Concerts, Restaurants:

Negroes are barred from most downtown movies and segregated in the rest.

Negroes must even sit in a segregated section of the Municipal Auditorium.

If a Negro is hungry, his hunger must wait until he comes to a "colored" restaurant, and even his thirst must await its quenching at a "colored" water fountain.

## (7) Law Enforcement:

There are grave inequalities in the area of law enforcement. Too often, Negroes are maltreated by officers of the law. An insufficient number of Negroes is employed in the law-enforcing agencies. They are seldom, if ever promoted. Of 830 policemen in Atlanta only 35 are Negroes.

We have briefly mentioned only a few situations in which we are discriminated against. We have understated rather than overstated the problems. These social evils are seriously plaguing Georgia, the South, the nation, and the world.

## We hold that:

- The practice of racial segregation is not in keeping with the ideals of Democracy and Christianity.
- Racial segregation is robbing not only the segregated but the segregator of his human dignity. Furthermore, the propagation of racial prejudice is unfair to the generations yet unborn.
- In times of war, the Negro has fought and died for his country; yet he still has not been accorded first-class citizenship.
- In spite of the fact that the Negro pays his share of taxes, he does not enjoy participation in city, county and state government at the level where laws are enacted.
- The social, economic, and political progress of Georgia is retarded by segregation and prejudices.
- America is fast losing the respect of other nations by the poor example which she sets in the area of race relations.

It is unfortunate that the Negro is being forced to fight, in any way, for what is due him and is freely accorded other Americans. It is unfortunate that even today some people should hold to the erroneous idea of racial superiority, despite the fact that the world is fast moving toward an integrated humanity.

The time has come for the people of Atlanta and Georgia to take a good look at what is really happening in this country, and to stop believing those who tell us that everything is fine and equal, and that the Negro is happy and satisfied.

It is to be regretted that there are those who still refuse to recognize the over-riding supremacy of the Federal Law.

Our churches which are ordained by God and claim to be the houses of all people, foster segregation of the races to the point of making Sunday the most segregated day of the week.

We, the students of the Atlanta University Center, are driven by past and present events to assert our feelings to the citizens of Atlanta and to the world.

We, therefore, call upon all people in authority—State, County, and City officials; all leaders in civic life—ministers, teachers, and business men; and all people of good will to assert themselves and abolish these injustices. We must say in all candor that we plan to use every legal and non-violent means at our disposal to secure full citizenship rights as members of this great Democracy of ours.

### Willie Mays

President of Dormitory Council For the Students of Atlanta University

### James Felder

President of Student Government Association  
For the Students of Clark College

### Marion D. Bennett

President of Student Association For the Students of  
Interdenominational Theological Center

### Don Clarke

President of Student Body For the Students of Morehouse College

### Mary Ann Smith

Secretary of Student Government Association For the  
Students of Morris Brown College

### Roslyn Pope

President of Student Government Association For the  
Students of Spelman College

# APPENDIX B

## ATLANTA UNIVERSITY Kenneth B. M. Crooks, Jr. School of Business Administration

This survey is being conducted for the purpose of determining the effect that the Student Movement has on buying habits of some professional Negroes in Atlanta. Your honest and sincere answers will be greatly appreciated.

Please indicate your answers with a check ( ) and return this questionnaire in the stamped self-addressed envelope at your earliest convenience.

SEX: Male \_\_\_\_\_  
Female \_\_\_\_\_

MARITAL STATUS: Single \_\_\_\_\_  
Married \_\_\_\_\_  
Other \_\_\_\_\_

HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN ATLANTA? Less than one year \_\_\_\_\_  
One to two years \_\_\_\_\_  
More than two years \_\_\_\_\_

Please estimate your average monthly payments at each of the downtown stores listed BEFORE THE BOYCOTT.

NAME OF STORE	AVERAGE MONTHLY PAYMENTS				
	Under \$25	\$26 - \$50	\$51 - \$75	\$76 - \$100	Over \$100
Rich's	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Davison-Paxon	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
F. W. Woolworth	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(Others)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Please estimate your average monthly payments at each of the downtown stores listed AT PRESENT.

NAME OF STORE	AVERAGE MONTHLY PAYMENTS				
	Under \$25	\$26 - \$50	\$51 - \$75	\$76 - \$100	Over \$100
Rich's	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Davison-Paxon	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
F. W. Woolworth	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(Others)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

HAVE YOU SHOPPED SOMEWHERE OTHER THAN DOWNTOWN SINCE THE BOYCOTT? Yes \_\_\_\_\_  
No \_\_\_\_\_

If so, indicate the center where you shop.

	FREQUENTLY	OCCASIONALLY	NEVER
Belvedere Plaza	_____	_____	_____
Lenox Square	_____	_____	_____
Stewart-Lakewood	_____	_____	_____
West End	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
(Others)	_____	_____	_____

## APPENDIX C

### FOURTEEN DOWNTOWN STORES PATRONIZED BY A SELECTED GROUP OF PROFESSIONAL ATLANTA NEGROES, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 1960-1961<sup>1</sup>

Name of Store	Number of Times Indicated
Allen's	11
Bonds	1
Days	1
Franklin Simon	8
Frohsin Leon Shoppe	1
Grants	1
Hirsch's	2
Kress	1
The Mirror	1
Muse's	10
Reeder & McGaughey, Inc.	1
Regensteins	1
Thompson, Boland & Lee	5
Zachry	1

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<sup>1</sup>Rich's, Inc., Davison's and Woolworth Co. not included.



[illegible][illegible][illegible]



60¢

Dolph's  
INDEXED STREET  
MAP  
OF GREATER  
ATLANTA  
GEORGIA

Dolph's  
INDEXED STREET  
MAP  
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SCALE  
1" = 1 MILE